1; Cunningham G-S (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

chair, which has been filled by a succession of abbots down to the present day.

The earlier abbots or patriarchs were the following :*—

1.	Tsong-kha-pa	born	1355 A.D.
		founded Gáhldán	1407
2.	Darma Rinchhen	born	1417
3.	Gelek Paldan	„	1429
4.	Zhalu Lekpa	„	1436
5.	Logros Chhos	„	1448
6.	Baso Chhosgyan	„	1461
7.	Logros Tanpa	„	1471
8.	Mon Lampal	„	1478

Previous to the establishment of the *Gáhl-dán* chair by Tsongkhapa, there would appear to have been no great patriarchs, or head abbots, of the Lamaïc priesthood; but the principle being once established, the attainment of this rank became an object of ambition, and the great abbots of *Gáhldán* were soon eclipsed by the superior piety, greater learning, and more active zeal of the abbots of *Tashi-Lhunpo*.† But the fame of Tsongkhapa was confirmed. He had established the annual feast of " intense supplication," which is still observed, and had originated the great sect of *Gelukpa* (the virtuous), which are distinguished from the older sects by a yellow dress. This sect is now the most numerous in Tibet, and both the *Dalai Lama* of Lhasa and the *Tashi Lama* of Tashi-Lhunpo belong to it. Tsongkhapa's memory is still venerated throughout Tibet. Pictures of him are hung up in all the temples, and the holy impressions of his hands and feet are said to be preserved

* Csoma's Chronology. Grammar, p. 181.

† *bKra-shis-Lhun-po*, the " mass of glory." It is pronounced *Tashi*, and is a very common man's name. Lhun-po is the English word " lump;" and the Greek Ο-λυμπο-ς.

414 BOLT--sHing kutik (lit. wood lock) Iron bolts are unknown to Ladákis.

291 BOOT--kapSHa the ordinary general term for a boot or shoe. The
195 respectful term is zhapSHa. There are separate names for different kinds of boots thus: "boot" means an English pattern boot "paboo" is the loose felt ankle boot of Ladák. "peypak" is the long felt jack boot of Yarkhand; "kapSHa" is the ordinary shoe of Hindustan; "móza" is the long leather jack boot of Yarkhand; "soklam" is the cloth jack boot of Lhása and China, it is worn by lamas. "cháruk" these much prized boots come from Yarkhand, they are made of sheepskin or lambskin, the wool being left on, and worn inside. They are sometimes short, and sometimes come up to the knee.

●554 [13] BOW TO--go kuk ches (to bow the head) joo cho ches (the
576 ordinary bow of salutation) sa kaney joo cho ches (the respectful bow of an inferior to a superior made by lowering one hand to the ground and then bringing it up to the forehead, which is lowered).
chhakphul táng ches (to join the palms of the hands before the breast as in an attitude of prayer, and to bow with the utmost humility, as in the presence of a king or deity).

262 BREAD--tagee is the ordinary term for the chupati of the country, or any other kind of baked or roasted bread, chhooSHul is the term applied to the uncooked dough Ladakis eat, when on a journey, or whenever they can not cook their food. It is made by mixing water into "satoo" which is the flour of beardless barley.

264 BREAKFAST--chheenan, (the small early breakfast, taken at dawn); tsáma or tsálma (the ordinary breakfast, taken about 8 or 10 o'clock).

291 BREECHES--patloon (of European pattern) Ladákis of both sexes invariably wear these under garments made of coarse patoo. The men's breeches are called "SHághos" meaning "flesh cover" or "kánghnam" meaning "leg patoo" they are cut the length of the wearer's leg and are loose from the

588 Makpa is the term for the bridegroom selected by a woman. In this case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man. If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa" for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant, but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances a woman may have a second husband, but see under "Husband".

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601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter" but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is imported from Baltistan.

[439]

then they go to their father, and eventually inherit his property. Except in the case of a "makpa" husband (see makpa) a Ladáki woman cannot divorce her husband against his will, but a man may divorce his wife for adultery. In such cases, circumstantial evidence against a woman is not enough, and a man who would take proceedings against his wife unless she had been taken "in flagrante delicto," would be looked down upon and termed a "meestam sonum batkhan" i.e., one who listens to scandalous rumours. WT 586 428 WT 586 684

Divorces of this kind are rare, for Ladákis are peculiarly free from sentimental ideas of dishonour and wickedness in connection with this offence, which they regard as amounting to an infringement of private rights in property rather than as anything more serious. Consequently, if the offending wife is willing to return to her husband, the latter usually consents to hush the matter up, in consideration of a sum of money probably 4 or 5 rupees or other valuables being given to him, as compensation, by his wife's lover. If the woman refuses to return to her husband, the latter can divorce her and retain possession of her property. If a man wishes to divorce his wife for any offence other than adultery, and his younger brothers do not agree to this, then the eldest brother, if he persists in divorcing his wife, must give her enough land to support her and his younger brothers. The wife and the younger brothers then leave the family roof and set up house together of their own account. WT [595]

Ladákis never apply to the Kashmir law courts for a divorce, such matters they arrange among themselves. They are however subject to the Kashmir laws, and a vindictive husband or wife may bring his or her case before the Kashmir courts. These do not pronounce decrees of "divorce" but they may imprison or fine persons found guilty of infidelity. WT 692 684

DOGRA--singpa. Owing no doubt to the fact that most Dogra names end with the syllable "sing." The Dogras are looked up to as soldiers but if a Civil official is described as a Dogra, it is almost tantamount to an insinuation that he is an ignorant, pig-headed fellow. A man who is not a Dogra is not spoken of as a Dogra, but if a Dogra is described as a Dogra, the intention is to indicate that he is not clever. WT 563 704 D 704 WT 186 554

776 The former word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person.

291 301 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, generally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and occasionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these turquoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

[554] [583] [439]

784 291 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

779 772 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thôris or ótsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

IDOLATOR--A Buddhist would describe himself as being a "skundey chhak phulkhan" i.e., "a god image worshipper," but a Mahomedan would call him a "kalaKHi skunda chhak phulkhan," i.e., a worshipper of mud-god images." WT 778 779 798

[66]IMMORTALITY--meeSHeeches. Ladákis think that an angel once brought a pitcher, filled with the water of life (doortshey i chhoo) to earth. One man drank a little of it, and in consequence, though he grew infirm and old, he could not die. The angel seeing this, returned to heaven, and reported the matter to the Deity, who then came to the conclusion that immortality was not suited to this world. He then ordered the angel to remove the water of life, and the angel fearing that if he emptied it out, some animal might drink it, took the pitcher containing it, to the top of a fir tree, where he fastened it to a branch, and left it. Soon after, some crows began to peck at the pitcher, and thus broke it and spilled the water of life over the spines of the fir, these therefore became evergreen, at the same time the crows beaks were splashed with the water, and the result is that a crow's lifetime extends to a hundred years. WT 773

This tradition probably dates back to a period anterior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák.

[67]INCANTATION--nganchhos. According to Jaschke, Buddhist incantations consist mostly of unmeaning Sanskrit syllables, in the recital of which, however, perfect accuracy is requisite. WT 788 779

INCARNATION--In Ladák, an "incarnation" or "avatár" is generally spoken of as a "skooSHok," but the correct word is skoochhok. In classical Tibetan "skoo" means "body" and "chhok" means "best" or "superlative." WT 775

In Lhása the use of the word "skooSHok" is not confined to "incarnations" and it is applied, as a term of respect, to any great man. In Ladák I have never heard the word used, otherwise than with reference to an incarnation, but I am informed by the Reverend F. Redslob, of the Moravian Mission at Leh, that he is occasionally termed by the people a "skooSHok". T 775 654 WT 554

The proper word for an incarnation is "sprulskoo" or "sprulpa" (pronounced in Ladák srulkoo or SHulkoo) this word too is understood in Ladák, but is less frequently used than the word "skooSHok." WT 775

WT 772 775 688

once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been scourged can remain a Láma.

Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámás may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT 311

LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT 423 241

LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT 788 648 T 788 648

LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one, but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots, coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, incense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

WT 565

WT 648 554 661 T 648 661

WT 648 439 554

the Lapchak leader receives from the Kashmir Durbar, a cash advance of 9,000 rupees, with which to buy goods, to take to Lhasa on account of the Durbar. No exact account is kept in regard to this money which is repaid in the following manner. On the return of the Mission from Lhása, the Lapchak leader has to give to the Kashmir Durbar 18,000 rupees worth of Lhasa (Chinese) brick tea. He probably gives tea to half or three quarters of that value, and divides the difference between himself and the State Accountants, who give him a receipt for 18,000 rupees worth of tea. The Mission is therefore, notwithstanding the exaction of free transport, a probable cause of pecuniary loss to the Kashmir State. In addition to this 9,000 rupees, the Lapchak leader receives a loan of 2,000 rupees from the Kashmir Durbar. On his return he has to repay this, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum. Complimentary letters are sent to, and received from, the leading men of Lhása, by hand of the Lapchak leader. The Wazir of Ladák, i.e., the local representative of the Kashmir State, sends to the grand Láma, ten diminutive bags of gold dust, which, at the present time, are worth about ten rupees each. This custom dates from a time anterior to the Dogra (Kashmir) conquest of Ladák. The last Lapchak Mission started in 1887.

WT 648 439 554 WT 662 WT 426 648 WT 648 651 T 648 651

In addition to this triennial "Lapchak" sent from Leh to Lhása, a yearly trading mission, is sent from Lhása to Leh. For further information regarding it see under the heading "Chaba."

WT 439 T 439

[87]LEASE TO--kháng-hla nen (or zum) ches (to hire a house) zhing-ló-chhat la nen ches (to take land on lease for a certain number of years) SHas la nen ches (to take land on lease in perpetuity, by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease, and continuing to pay a small, often almost a nominal, sum, in each succeeding year). This is the general custom in Ladák, as people do not like to sell their land outright.

WT 427

LEATHER--kóa (of cow or ox, uncured) kóa ngieskhan (cured) ralpak (of goats, uncured) lukspak (of sheep, uncured) tángskee (of goats or sheep, cured) suruKH(the goats skin imported from India, dyed red, and used for making the upper part of the long boots called "cháruk") sakrey or SHai (the green coloured leather used in shoes of Indian pattern).

WT 281

receive "tamchhoo" (meaning "binding water") from the hands of the priest, and this they reverently drink. 788

SACRIFICE TO--skoorim cho ches (to perform the sacrificial rites); chhotpa phul ches (to offer up a sacrifice). The taking of life is contrary to the Buddhist religion, live animals are therefore not slaughtered in the ordinary sacrificial manner. If a Buddhist wishes to offer an animal as a sacrifice, he dedicates it to the gods and leaves it at the monastery. This is termed "tshey thar la tăng ches;" all such animals are kept on the monastery lands, doing nothing for the rest of their lives. Another kind of sacrificial offering consists of satoo, dyed blood-red (by means of the juice extracted from the root of a medicinal herb known as "dreemok") and kneaded, and made into a particular shape and crowned with a cone of butter. It is then termed a "chhotpa." 782 779 792

SAIL--The "sails" of the Chángtháng windmills are of wood, scooped out like a ladle, "(they are called hlungsskor-i-SHokpa"). 000

SALUTE TO--joo (or zhoo) zăr ches, or respectfully chhak phul ches. When equals meet, each says "joo" or "joojoo"; if one is of slightly lower rank, he says "joo ley" and receives the answers "joo." "Salami" is the term for a military salute, and also for a guard of honour. Hniemdong táng (or pheeng) ches is to come out to salute, as the Lámás and women and musicians of a village come out to salute any person of rank passing [141] through their village. The Lámás come with their sacred musical instruments, the women with offerings of milk, satoo, ghee, chhang, and incense, and the musicians with drums and clarionets. 554 195 576 792 533

[141]

SASH--palthar (a kind of sash-like belt for holding a sword); palthar táng ches (to wear such a sash); skieyr (kasa kind of waist-band worn by both sexes). The women, in addition to the skieyraks, wear a kind of sash, called a "yok-skieyraks," and from this hangs a collection of ornaments, termed "ldócha," consisting of cowries, needles, pins, a knife, spoon, purse, etc., etc. The brass rosette-like ornament worn on the "yok-skieyraks" is called a "ldólen." 291 301

352 (about 18 inches high); thorchok (about 24 inches high), and rgialchok (the king's table as high as that of a European).

554 352 On great occasions, when Ladákis feed together, the height of a man's table marks his rank. The lowest in rank sit on the ground and feed off a ltapchok, while the great men sit upon cushions and feed off a thorchok, and so on.

281 439 TANNER--hlamkhan. The art of tanning is unknown in Ladák, where most of the leather used is imported from India. The local mode of dealing with a fresh hide is to wash it, dry it, again to wash it, then to rub it well with oil and to leave it to dry. The whole operation takes about four days, and the result is a very bad leather.

[157]

651 TAX--SHoGHam (octrói and general term); bap or mámila (the land tax); rátot (the cash payment taken by the State in place of a certain number of goats due as revenue); lugtot (ditto in regard to sheep); martot (ditto in regard to "thee"), also SHingtot and phugtot (ditto in regard to wood and straw).

In Lahaul the word "thal" or "thral" means "tax," but in Ladák it is used only in regard to the indirect tax, called "beygar", i.e., "forced labour."

272 439 TEA--chha (generic term); chhápak or chha-i-páoo (Lhása brick tea); chha-i-góla (Indian ball tea); cha hngonpo (Indian green leaf tea); chha-i-zangja (coarse black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-sar (good black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-reekar (the best black Lhása brick tea); dámoo means "a brick" of tea of any sort.

Ladákis like the chha-i reekar best, but as it costs two rupees odd per pound, they cannot indulge in it often. Ladákis mix soda, salt, butter and milk into their tea, but they do not use sugar.

415 TEA-CUP--kórey (the drinking vessel of the country, made of wood and shaped more like a saucer than a cup); káriól (or káról) i-korey (a China cup.)

[439] TEA-POT--teepreel or chháteep, or respectfully solteep. Also sámáwár (the Russian tea urn; many of these are brought down to Leh by Central Asian traders).

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn.
415 A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do
792 not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the
292 face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the
779 Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the
● 554 superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an
195 inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and
589 "Remarriage."
601

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

346 Chapter III, B.

792 Social and Religious Life.

Monasteries or *gómpás* in Láhaul and Spiti.

These monasteries are extensive buildings, standing on high ground, and apart from the villages. In the centre of the pile are the public rooms consisting of chapels, refectories, and store-rooms; round them are clustered the separate cells in which the monks live. Each landholder's family has its particular *tásha* or cell in the monastery to which it is hereditarily attached, and in this all the monks of the family, uncles, nephews, and brothers, may be found living together. The monks ordinarily mess in these separate quarters, and keep their books, clothes, cooking utensils, and other private property in them. Some mess singly, others two or three together. A boy monk, if he has no uncle to look after him, is made a pupil to some old monk, and lives in his cell; there are generally two or three chapels, one for winter, another for summer, and a third perhaps the private chapel of the abbot or head *lámá*. The monks meet in the chapel to perform the services, which ordinarily consist of readings from the sacred books; a sentence is read out and then repeated by the whole congregation. Narrow carpets are laid lengthways on the floor of the chapel, one for each monk; each has his allotted place, and a special position is assigned to the reader: the abbot sits on a special seat of honour, raised a little above the common level of the floor; the chapels are fine large rooms open down the centre, which is separated from the sides by rows of wooden pillars. At the far end is the altar consisting of a row of large coloured figures, the images of the *avatár* or incarnation of Buddha of the present age, of the coming *avatár* of the next age, and of Gúrú Rimbochi, Atishá, and other saints. In some chapels a number of small brass images from China are ranged on shelves on one side of the altar, and on the other stands a book-case full of the sacred books, which are bundles of loose sheets printed from engraved slabs in the fashion which has been in use in Tibet for many centuries. The walls all round the chapel are painted with figures of male or female divinities, saints, and demons, or hung with pictures on cloth with silk borders; similar pictures on cloth are also suspended across the chapel on ropes; the best pictures are brought from Great Tibet as presents to the monastery by monks who return from taking the degree of Gelang at Lhásá, or who have been living for some years in one of the monasteries of that country. They are painted in a very quaint and conventional style, but with considerable power of drawing and colouring. Huge cylindrical prayer-wheels, which spin round at a slight touch of the finger, stand round the room, or on each side of the altar. In the store-rooms among the public property are kept the dresses, weapons, and fantastic masks used in the *chám* or religious plays (these masks much resemble the monstrous faces one sees in the carving outside Gothic Cathedrals); also the drums and cymbals, and the robes and quaint head-dresses worn by the superior monks at high ceremonies.*

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* The *chám* or religious dances performed in the Tibetan monasteries are worth seeing: if introduced into a Christmas Pantomime in London, they would be effective as tableaux or spectacles. The abbot and superior monks, dressed in full canonicals, sit round the court-yard of the monastery, clanking huge cymbals to a slow time or measure. Bands of other monks, dressed in brilliant silk robes, with hideous masks, or extraordinary head-dresses, and with strange weapons in their hands, dance

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 Spiti

[P. 51]

Dancing

635 All the people dance on occasions of merriment, — girls and men. At Kuling, while the Buzhans were dancing six or eight girls joined in.

554 535. Professional dancing women are looked down and the peasant-proprietors will not eat with them. They are not usually prostitutes, though the unmarried ones may be.

III.

Objects connected with Religion.

Cenotaphs.

778 Strictly speaking, the chorten is an object of worship; the dungten is a bone receptacle. The *chorten*, usually made of wood, is the substitute for the *dungten*, which contains the bones of some abbot or saint and is situated too far away for practical worship.

Such is the origin, but in modern usage the *chorten* is merely a Buddhist symbol, and like a brass *deota*, may have no relation to any special *dungten* or to the bones of any particular saint.

Altars.

778 788 Heaps of stones are erected to local spirits— to the *lha* of the pass or ravine and so on,— and every passer-by adds a stone or a horn. Horns are more acceptable to the *lha* than stones and the most acceptable gift is a *lungta* (cloth with prayers printed on it).

Every traveller adds a stone, even if in a strange place, where he does not know to which *lha* the altar has been erected. A white stone is the best. Black stones are from the evil spirits and are never placed on the heap. Usually a fallen stone is replaced and only when there are no fallen stones is a fresh one sought for.

A *lungta* is only added on special occasions. Thus, when a merchant sets out on a trading venture, he leaves a *lungta* containing a prayer for his success, his name and the name of the year.

IV.

Superstitions.

Magic Dagger.

787 The *dorja phurpa* or magic dagger is used by the *choba*, attendant on the sick, and by the

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 5

A LADY'S PROPOSAL

We paid off our porters at Koksar and they returned to Manali. These were not the type one reads about in Himalayan literature. They were villagers—farmers, hired hands, clerks in the bazaar at Manali. Had I planned a trek on foot, I would have arranged for professional porters, the best of whom are from Darjeeling far to the east of Manali. They have been trained by the Himalayan Club of India, beginning with the first British expedition to Everest in 1922. They are tireless travelers of the trail—efficient, loyal, and enduring. They would have been eager for the adventures of the highroad to Leh. Our Manali porters were not. Moreover, the profession of the porter is not in high esteem in the Kulu Valley. Carrying loads on one's back for another man is looked down upon. The reason has its roots in history. In ancient days the Rajah of Kulu demanded labor of each man. So many days a year were owed the Crown. This was known as the *begar* system. The lowliest of *begar* labor was the coolie, who carried freight for the Rajah on his back. Carrying

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the mail was less dishonorable. Providing wood and grass for the Rajah's camps was higher on the scale. The *begar* system was gravely abused. Many lost their health or their lives on dangerous missions for the Rajah. The work was looked down upon; a certain ignominy was attached to it.

That tradition has persisted. Porters are considered coolie labor, and coolie labor carries some of the disrepute of the *begar* system.

Our porters, however, were not in revolt or unhappy. That was not the reason why we paid them off. The reason was that at Koksar we found horses which would take us three stages, viz., to Kyelang, the capital city of Lahul. Rahul and I debated whether to gamble on another pack train at Kyelang. There was a half promise that we could get mules at Kyelang. We decided to take that chance.

The porters lined up for their pay the morning after we arrived at Koksar. The rate was three rupees a stage per man (about sixty cents), a stage usually being the distance between dak bungalows or about ten miles. Each porter was to get an additional 50 per cent of that amount each time we crossed a pass (there were six passes on our route from Manali to Leh). On the return trip they were to get one half the rate. They were also to get half rate whenever they laid over a day. Each porter was to supply his own food.

This morning at Koksar the main argument was over the computation of the amount I owed each one. There were many figures submitted, each man arguing for his own computation. It took about an hour to get the crowd to agree on a figure. And when it appeared that unanimity had been achieved, one lone dissenter spoke up. He maintained that he was entitled to one rupee more than all the others. And so he was. It happened this way.

As I said before, the first porters to arrive at our hotel in Manali took the lightest packs, leaving the heaviest for the late-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

342 for reading his holy books and repeating his prayers. Here, 1
788 too, the lamas are accommodated when they are sent for to
come and "do religion" in the house. Their presence can
793 be detected from afar by the monotonous beat of their drums, while nearer at hand the sound of their chanting can be heard. At such times, lasting one or two days, the priests must be both fed, and paid in money.

788 Where a whole room cannot thus be set apart for religious
778 purposes, a small corner in the best room will be arranged as an altar with all the necessary paraphernalia of ritual. These include the brass vessels for burning oil, vases containing peacock feathers, and chased vessels of brass, copper or silver or combinations of these to hold the rice, barley and other offerings. Quaintly-shaped vessels for holy water, small idols in metal cases, with a tiny window in front and slots at the side through which string may be passed to tie them round the waist when travelling, salutation-scarves of wide meshed raw silk, little bits of tawdry rags, doubtless blessed by some Skushog, and one or two sacred books in their long covers also find a place there.

● 554 One has often noticed in Mussulman homes that the best
[758] room is always used by the head of the house if he falls sick, and in most houses the best gowns and coats, especially the headman's, adorn its walls, along with soiled Turkish towels hanging on rough pegs. But surely the best and brightest room is most conducive to a successful toilet and effective ablutions!

342 The ordinary inhabitant, however, who only gives his religion an average place, and who cannot afford many lamaistic luxuries, generally has to make a living-room of his best room, though as we have already indicated most houses have a large bright room upstairs for use in summer. The greater part of the side of this is a window space, framed in wood with three or four longitudinal partitions, each of which can be filled to any height desired for warmth or privacy by

1 [i.e., IN PRIVATE CHAPELS IN BETTER-CLASS HOUSES IN TOWN.—ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Tibetan friends prefer rancid butter, but in Ladak at any rate, those who can afford to be so are most particular that the butter shall be fresh, never melted previously, and without a strong smell. The resulting concoction to us tastes more like soup, and few Westerners can stand more than one or two cups without disastrous results. For the Tibetan on the other hand it is one of his staple foods, its butter helps to supply the carbo-hydrates which he so rarely takes in the form of sugar, though he gets plenty of starch from his uncooked barley-flour, mixed with water or tea. The fat also warms and sustains him in the bitter winter, and as this separates out if allowed to cool but slightly, his cup is supplied with a metal lid and saucer if he moves in better circles, and his wife or attendant constantly adds hot tea as soon as there is any room to fill up. In this way over twenty cupfuls may be taken at one midday meal. For us it is a very trying custom when we visit our Ladaki friends, and we have to explain that, just as much of our tea (fortunately for us !) upsets them, so our internal economy can only deal with a small supply of their favourite beverage ! Another difficulty for us is to sit cross-legged on the floor for so long, and, although we know it is bad manners to stretch out legs, eventually when stiff knees or needles and pins become intolerable, we have to ask our host or hostess to excuse the position. To return to the fireplace —we find the seats of election are on the side of the stove opposite the bellows, for here is a little trough into which the hot ashes are pushed through from the other side, as aeration necessitates. Squatting cross-legged on mats round these hot embers, which can be constantly raked over with a rough fire-spoon or even the hardened fingers of our native friends, we can stretch our hands out over the warmth, and renew the glowing vitality by occasionally leaning over to give a few good blows. This cosy corner is, of course, the warmest at night, and given to either the weakest or most distinguished member of the household. The Doctor Memsahib once had

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the customs concerned in the partaking thereof. The better class Ladaki always washes his face and hands before eating. The Buddhist also performs his particular kind of grace before meals. First he takes a little of his flour which he throws away for the gods. Then he dips his ring-finger and thumb into his tea or *chang* (beer), and flips a taste of that away for their benefit, too. He uses the ring-finger as he considers this the cleanest of his digits, for man is born with this finger in his nose. If he wishes to stir anything, he uses this same member. If for his meal he has killed a sheep, he is supposed to offer up a bit of its heart, kidney, liver and every part of its flesh to his god. But meat is rather a luxury for the normal household, yet they have many ways of cooking it which are really delicious. When a *dron* or feast is made, the meat is of course, prepared as a very tasty curry to be eaten with rice, the meat being first fried with plenty of cooking-butter and onions, then stirred for hours till it is really tender in a well-flavoured sauce with plenty of vegetables. The rice is served, piled up on enormous plates, each of which two or three guests will attack, unless they have brought their own normal sized plates. The grander ones then eat with small spoons, the man's being a different shape from the woman's, as the latter is double, the second tiny receptacle at one end being for a child. It is not etiquette to finish up what is on the plate—in most cases it would be impossible; the mother especially must take a large portion home for the rest of the family. The feast is usually begun with butter-tea, and, if so, when the plates of rice and meat have been removed, it is quite good manners in some circles to clean out the cup with one's tongue (much more labour-saving than our ways of washing up !), ready to have it filled with stewed dried apricots. After this course, the same cleansing process will prepare the cup for more filling of butter-tea ! "Chupattis," that is, round flat cakes of unleavened bread, are generally served too, and dipped into the apricot juice or the tea. At a very grand

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W ..betans AJ4

gut, and the bow of horsehair. Let us listen to Tsiring Rolmar, as she recounts to her husband and her two boys, one of these stories. In the corner of their living-room is the stove, behind which sits the housefather on a slightly raised platform, before him his cup of tea which he sips the while. On the opposite side, also sitting cross-legged, is his lady, who while she spins her yarn, blows the fire with her goatskin bellows, and at her side her youngsters drink in the story. Like all good tales hers begins—"Once upon a time," and goes on to tell of King Sralkai, of his little son Ulastopgyes, the princess Laches, and their cruel step-mother, who in order to rid herself of her husband's children feigned illness, and asked him to go to a certain old woman physician who lived on a hill far away. While the King was on the road thither, the wicked queen, successfully disguised, took a short cut and arrived at the mountain first, then told the King that the only cure for his queen was a meal made of the hearts of his two children. Sadly he returned, and we follow the prince and princess through a long and tedious history of various unsuccessful attempts to murder them, until eventually Ulastopgyes is recognized as a prince and is crowned king of a great country. His thoughts return to his poor old father, and he goes to rescue him from the wicked queen, who turns out to be a witch and is slain, whilst, of course, the rest live happily ever afterwards. But do not imagine this story is told in so few words—an hour would not suffice for all the details, and many cups of tea are drunk before the fortunate family is eventually allowed to "live happily ever after." Of such stories there must be hundreds, and for every myth or fairy-tale which we have in the West, the Ladaki has his Tibetan version. In the same way it would not be difficult to find a Ladaki proverb similar to almost every English one. Besides the story-teller and his fiddled accompaniment, there is the amateur with musical propensities who can express his feelings on a flute, also home-made, just a bit of hollow stick

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

whether they would mind paying us a kind visit. They agreed and soon stood before us, dancing about from one leg to the other in a state of great excitement. My colleague then held out his purse and asked them to tell him how much money it contained. This excited them still more and they exclaimed, "You are trying us—we will not be tried—we will not answer." Then they turned to me, and, after a few flattering remarks as to my medical work for their country, which were meant to make me amenable, they asked me what I desired to know, to which I replied that I wished them to tell me the next question I would ask them, having beforehand told my colleague what this would be. This caused a fresh outburst of fury in which they departed from us in anger, and we from them in disgust at the fraud perpetrated on these credulous folk. It is difficult not to label the whole thing a big lie, for from Lahoul come the weirdest stories. Thus we have been told that here the *Lha* often inhabits the beam of a house. Wishing to have a walk, the beam is shouldered by men, who carry "him" up hill and down dale in the most extraordinary manner. If they essay to take the *Lha* in an undesired direction, the god shows his disapproval by becoming heavier. He eventually indicates the house in which he wishes to take up his residence by again becoming more ponderous. Generally this occurs near the habitation of some opulent Buddhist. At other times a still more ingenious method is resorted to in order to ascertain the wishes of the *Lha*. A mirror is carried in front of and facing the beam, and the reflections therein show the god's wishes to perfection. We were told that sometimes the *Lhapas*—these godmen—disagree, and have to have their disputes settled by the English Christian Commissioner. It is really rather strange that often the god takes possession of a man of the blacksmith caste, although he is despised, and yet the moment he becomes the habitation of the god, he is, of course, regarded with much respect.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XXII

Skushogs & Scandals

AMONG the greater personages who periodically appear on the stage of public life in Leh are the *Skushogs* of the surrounding monasteries. The word Sku-shog, meaning literally "body-great," or translated freely, "your presence," is a title of honour used by Central Tibetans for any person of rank, including even the European occasionally, but in Western Tibet it is confined to clerical dignitaries, and, in practice, is only used to designate the head abbot of one or more monasteries. Such a mah is regarded as having obtained sufficient holiness to reach Nirvana, but in his compassion for his fellows he voluntarily remains in the wheel of life, and comes back to help them by presiding over their *dGonpa*. Thus as soon as the head incarnation of a monastery dies, he is re-incarnated in a male baby born at the time of his death, this child then has to be discovered and brought to rule over his own lamasery when old enough. Here he is absolute monarch; he himself cannot do evil whatever sin he commits; he is a law-giver, but need not abide by the laws he lays down. The method of discovery and preparatory education of a *Skushog* may be best told by translating a short biography written in Tibetan by the *Skushog* of Hemis at our request.

"My own home is not in Llasa itself, as my father was an assistant to the Yutog minister, whose house is connected with Lhasa by a bridge, covered by a roof set in turquoise-coloured baked bricks. My house-name is 'Yutog Shar.'

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

doctrinal truths, staying for some months. After this I stayed in Gongkar Dechos until the Sheep year, and in the year of the Firemonkey I went to see the Galwa Rinpoche, that is the Dalai Lama. Having done obeisance to him, he conferred on me the rank of ' San-o-han-too,' which is a Mongolian word, and other honours which are only bestowed on men of high rank. [To show this rank he has an umbrella carried before him, and possesses his own flag.] I was also placed over other *Skushogs* and professors. I thus received such kindness and praise from the Dalai Lama. That year I returned to Ladak, and the next I passed my examination in doctrine. After this I went to the hermitage of Godtsang, where I lived as a hermit, meditated on the doctrines of Saskya Rnyingma and Drugpa, etc., and read the Kangyur and the scriptures of the Lord Buddha, and pondered their meaning. Here I remained for ten years, but in the Firemonkey year I came out of retirement, and from that time onwards I have been travelling about Upper and Lower Ladak and Kulu, visiting my congregations and giving money to a few lamas, and occasionally I stay in a hermitage."

Since he wrote this little history he has also made a grand tour through India, Ceylon and Burmah to Lhasa, and has thus seen something of the impact of Western civilization, which interests him greatly. He has always been much attracted by small mechanical toys and Western devices, such as electric torches, clocks, watches, microscopes, etc., and is himself an expert photographer. Some visitors to Hemis were once amused to see on each side of the chief altar in his private apartment a pair of Odol bottles, their bent necks facing each other. When we first visited this room, they were replaced by Southwell jam jars containing artificial flowers. He is interested in Western medical science too, and gave a sum of money to the Doctor Sahib towards getting the operation theatre of the Moravian Mission Hospital in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Moetans AJ4

So from time to time one interesting type after another appears on the scene and catches the eye. Always in the picture the ecclesiastic element is prominent. Most of the lamas wear waterbottles, square, flat bags with hole and cap at the top. These are used to put the holy water into, which alone they are allowed to drink when they fast. Some are covered with beautiful Chinese silk brocade, which is worn only by senior or superior monks. Quite a number of novices are about, boy lamas of all ages from about eight upwards. The majority of the crowd are, of course, our own Ladaki friends from the neighbourhood of Leh, with a good sprinkling of interested Mussulmans distinguished by fez and turban, and a few Hindu shopkeepers, clerks, and their servants. In the balcony at right angles to us, sitting next to the Gurkha sepoys stationed in Leh, is a hermit who lives in a little hermitage half-way up the hill about two miles from Leh. He looks anything but a hermit in his fine red robes, with hair done like the Spitti men, but wearing a lama's cap.

He is very restless, and his face looks peevish and certainly not meditative. But he comes out of retirement a good deal, for we have met him in the fields, and a week after the festival there was a gathering in the desert outside Leh, where the *Skushog* of Hemis consecrated for him a new *chorten* and *mani* wall, which he has built to bring blessing to the town, so he cannot be a man of poverty. At the festival he is provided with a deck chair, and a second day we see him busy tearing a long piece of yellow silk into strips, which we later notice adorning caps and garments, doubtless after having been blessed by the *Skushog*.

It was surprising how quickly this concourse of pilgrims melted away. The morning after the festival, when we moved out of the village at about 9 o'clock, it was almost empty again, neither did we pass many of them.

As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

in Kashmir was Commissioner for the Government of India jointly with the Wazir for this work.

Under the Wazir-i-Wazaret came the Tehsildar of Leh, responsible for the collection of revenue and assisted by a Naib Tehsildar. Below them, and charged with minor administrative jobs in the villages and along the main roads, were the zehildars, the lumbadars and the kardars. The latter minor officials were responsible for giving Central Asian travellers any assistance that they needed along the Trade Route. They had, however, to be natives of Tibetan extraction.

The ancient Ladaki political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all power, and only survived because of the prestige which it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. Thus the king of Ladak (*La-Dwags rGyal-po*), although reduced to the rank of raja of Stog and receiving a small allowance from the Kashmir durbar, was even then looked up to as the country's legitimate ruler.

In his castle of Stog which I visited, I was surprised to see that the king was assisted not only by court officials who had kept the titles of days gone by, but also by a council of ministers calling themselves *Kalön* (*bKa-bLon*). These personages, although without any real power, still met in a legislative assembly of their own; their positions were hereditary and they received the (modest) revenue of the village that each of them lived in. I was told that other offices, such as those of governor of a province or *Lönpo* (*bLon-po*), revenue officer of the Crown or *Nang-dzö* (*Nang-mDzod*), lumbadar or *Tungspun* (*Drung-spun?*) and assistant lumbadar or *Togache* (*T'hoga-ches?*), no longer existed although the descendants of those who had held them hereditarily were still looked upon with some consideration. At social occasions involving only Ladakis, these people were still given privileged positions. I met the Queen on this occasion, and found that, as I had been told, she was a sister of the Thakur of Gungrang in Lahul. She was not living in polyandry as her husband had no brothers, but it was expected that her two boys would eventually take one wife in common, as was the ancient custom.

5. *Land-tenure and economy*

The collection of revenue in Ladak is naturally the responsibility of the Kashmir administration. The basis of assessment of the revenue is a rather arbitrary one, being simply the holding or the house, which is called *zhing-kham* (*Zhing-K'hams*) allotted by the State and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible